

THE MORAL ADVOCATE.

CONDUCTED BY ELISHA BATES.

"On Earth peace, good will towards men."

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EDITORIAL.

From several causes, the issuing of the Moral Advocate has been irregular. In the beginning, it appeared to be necessary to give time for returns to be made, that some correct idea might be formed of the number of subscribers. But after all, it has become necessary to reprint the first and second numbers. The intervention of the Yearly Meeting unavoidably prolonged the time between the third and fourth numbers; and my absence, on a journey of 5 weeks, must be the apology for delaying the present number. It is intended that, in future, the first day of each month, (first days of the week excepted,) shall be the times of issuing the Moral Advocate.

It is hoped the foregoing explanation will remove any unfavorable impression from the minds of subscribers, on account of the irregularity which has taken place.

WAR.

IN the present enlightened age, and among professors of the Christian religion, the discussion of the question of war, must necessarily have reference to the doctrines of Christianity, and to the practice of Christ, and his early followers. It is not with atheists that we contend; although if it were, the ground would still be tenable. It might be maintained that the greatest evils which can possibly afflict the rational creation, follow in the train of war, and that a *greater*, is not a rational remedy for a *less* evil. It might also be contended, that physical *power*, is not necessarily connected with the side of justice; but, on the contrary, is commonly the inducing cause of aggression. Hence *force* is an arbiter, to which a rational appeal cannot be made. But to the Christian, it is not necessary to be confined to such reasoning. *He* dare not contend with the Almighty.—If God, in his wisdom and goodness, has been pleased to prescribe rules for the regulation of human actions, and the subjugation of our passions—we dare not call in question his wisdom or goodness, or say that the system which he has commanded us to observe, is not adapted to our condition. If we pursue the subject, and reflect that he has sent his Son into the world, to introduce that system, to explain it by his precepts, illustrate it by his practice, and seal it with his blood—we shall feel all cavilling on points of possibility, hushed into silence—nothing then will remain, but to establish the fact, that the dispensation introduced by

Jesus Christ, was a system of peace, of meekness, forbearance and love.

Where, then, is the controversy? Or who will deny that Jesus Christ forbid all violence, aggression, retaliation, or even the resisting of evil? It cannot be denied. And here not only *offensive*, but *defensive* wars are clearly prohibited.

It cannot be supposed that the Gospel was not designed for man in a state of society, or that its precepts are binding on individuals, and *not* on communities. As we associate into communities or societies, to realize more fully the comforts of religion, so the obligations of a religious nature become even more strong in a state of society, than on solitary individuals. In fact, the precepts of the Gospel are formed and adapted for a state of society.—Here their excellence is evolved, & here they operate with full force.

But man, to save to himself the indulgence of his malevolent passions, has taken the liberty of considering the plain, positive precepts of Christ, as *figurative* language—thus levelling down the morality of the Gospel to suit the views, passions and propensities of all descriptions of men. Thus, the command “thou sha't not kill,” as given by Moses, and recognized and extended by Christ, is said to be altogether at the will and control of the civil magistrate, or the military officer. If *they* say “thou *shalt* kill,” the law of God becomes of no force. And again, the command of Christ, “I say unto you love your enemies,” is construed to mean, that when we *kill* them, it is to be done in a fashionable manner. The commands “to resist not evil;” when “smitten on the one cheek to turn the other,” to “do good to them that hate you, and pray for them that despitefully use you, and persecute you,” is modified down to mean, that after resenting indignities and retaliating injuries to the full measure of revenge, we are not to bear it in mind, but be on habits of *common civility* with the aggressing party.

Here it becomes the christian solemnly to pause and examine the grounds on which he stands. Is he maintaining the faith delivered to the saints by the person of the Son of God, confirmed by miracles and sealed with his blood? Or has he admitted a system of reasoning, modification and constructions that will destroy the christian system, prostrate the dignity, and lay waste the happiness of the rational creation? The precepts of Christ “are not yea and nay.” 2 Cor. 1, 18, 19 20. They are not given and reversed at the will or caprice of depraved man.—No “they are yea and amen forever;” and there is an awful responsibility on those to whom they have been committed, by Almighty God, before whom this vast globe with all the millions that inhabit it,—the pomp and magnificence—the schemes of ambition and the parade of power, are but as “the dust of the balance.”

But it is not on a few passages of Scriptures alone, that the arguments against the lawfulness of war are founded. Our Divine Benefactor, as if to guard his frail and erring creatures against the dangers of sophistry and the possibility of misconstruction, has multiplied the evidence, and interwoven it with the whole texture of the Gospel system. Nor is this all. The vital principle, which constitutes the essence of the religion of Jesus Christ in the heart, still breathes the language of peace, of love, and forbearance. It still gives sensibility, commiseration and sympathy when scenes of suffering are presented, and prompts the feelings into the most sublime charity. When injuries are offered, it still curbs the headlong fury of revenge and teaches the lesson of forbearance and forgiveness. Like Jesus Christ, from whom it emanates, it came not to destroy but to save men's lives.

The law and the prophets pointed to the Gospel dispensation. A dispensation under which the duties we owe to God and to one another, are unfolded. It is no half way system. It embraces no compromise of principle. It was introduced by the son of God, and is, in all its parts, worthy of its Divine Author. It enjoins a *complete* conformity on our part; and then it renders us just what God would have us to be, because it introduces us into the divine nature. "The unbelief of others is not to make void *our* faith," or discharge us from the obligation to serve God in the way of his requiring. Thus, though the world may bend its hostile frown upon us, and persecution grasp its iron scourge, it dissolves no obligation of the christian. He has still the same even path to pursue. He has still the same rule to walk by. The same precepts and spirit to be his guide, and the same Almighty Power, in whom to repose for his protection.

"When the Gospel Dispensation was seen in prophetic vision, it was described as a system of peace. The dispositions of the lion, the wolf and the leopard were to be changed to the lamb-like nature." The deadly, twisting serpent was to cease to mark the innocent for its victim. The weapons of war were to be converted into the implements of husbandry, and it was declared in the sublime language of inspiration, "nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more." How emphatic was the closing exhortation of the prophet! "O house of Jacob! come ye, and let us walk in the light of the Lord."

Among the appropriate appellations which were given of the promised Messiah, one was, "the Prince of Peace," beautifully alluding to the pacific nature of his kingdom.

As the time approached for his personal appearance on earth, the tumults of war were hushed; the temple of Janus at Rome was shut, and *peace prevailed throughout the world*. Such was the prelude to his coming, & when his birth was announced, it was by the angelic anthem of "GLORY TO GOD IN THE HIGHEST, ON EARTH PEACE, GOOD WILL TOWARDS MEN."

EXTRACTS OF J. QUINCY'S ADDRESS, CONCLUDED
from page 56.

The Address of J. Quincy was very injudiciously divided in last number. In order to keep the description of a field of battle entire, we now commence with the last paragraph that was inserted in the last number.

ED.

On a sudden, the field of combat opens on his astonished vision. It is a field, which men call, "glorious." A hundred thousand warriors stand in opposed ranks. Light beams on their burnished steels.—Their plumes and banners wave. Hill echoes to hill the noise of moving rank and squadron; the neigh and tramp of steeds; the trumpet, drum, and bugle call.

There is a momentary pause;—a silence, like that, which precedes the fall of the thunderbolt; like the awful stillness, which is precursor to the desolating rage of the whirlwind. In an instant flash succeeding flash pours columns of smoke along the plain. The iron tempest sweeps; heaping, man, horse, and car, in undistinguished ruin. In shouts of rushing hosts—in shock of breasting steeds.—in peals of musquetry—in artillery's roar—in sabres' clash—in thick and gathering clouds of smoke and dust, all human eye and ear, and sense are lost. Man sees not, but the sign of onset. Man hears not, but the cry of "onward".

Not so, the celestial stranger. His spiritual eye, unobscured by artificial night, his spiritual ear, unaffected by mechanic noise, witness the real scene, naked in all its cruel horrors.

He sees—lopped and broken limbs scattered,—gashed, dismembered trunks, outspread, gore-clotted, lifeless;—brains bursting from crushed skulls; blood gushing from sabred necks; severed heads whose mouths mutter rage, amidst the palsy of the last agony.

He hears—the mingled cry of anguish and despair, insuing from a thousand bosoms, in which a thousand bayonets turn; the convulsive scream of anguish from heaps of mangled, half-expiring victims, over whom the heavy artillery-wheels lumber and crush into one mass, bone and muscle, and sinew;—while the fetlock of the war-horse drips with blood, starting from the last palpitation of the burst heart, on which his hoof pivots.

"This is not earth,"—would not such a celestial stranger exclaim;—"This is not earth"—"this is hell! This is not man! but demon tormenting demon."

Thus exclaiming, would not he speed away to the skies? His immortal nature unable to endure the folly, the crime and madness of man.

If in this description, there be nothing forced, and nothing exaggerated; if all great battles exhibit scenes like these, only multiplied ten thousand times in every awful form, in every cruel feature, in every heart-reading circumstance; will society, in a high state of moral and intellectual improvement endure their recurrence? As light penetrates the mass, and power with light, and purity with power, will men in any country, consent to intrust their

peace and rights, to a soldiery like that of Europe, described as "a needy, sensual, vicious cast, reckless of God and man, and mindful only of the officer?"

Even in Europe, is not a brighter and purer day breaking? Even there though over whelmed by the weight of mightiest monarchies, public opinion heaves and shakes the mountain mass, by which the moral and intellectual developement of human nature is oppressed. Already the middling classes of society have burst the ancient feudal chains, and priest craft manacles, and vindicated for themselves, a glorious day; under whose light, knowledge and virtue are expanding, and checking the crimes of courts, as well as of the crowd, and pointing with the finger of authoritative scorn at the vices of the high and the noble, not less than at those of the low and ignoble.

"Revolutions go not backward." Neither does the moral and intellectual progress of the multitude. Light is shining where once there was darkness; and is penetrating and purifying the once corrupt and enslaved portions of our species. It may occasionally, and for a season, be obscured, or seem to retrogate. But light, moral and intellectual, shall continue to ascend to the zenith, untill that which is now dark, shall be in day; and much of the earthly crust, which shall adhere to man, shall fall and crumble away, as his nature becomes elevated.

With this progress, it needs no aid from prophecy, none from revelation, to foretel that war, the greatest, yet remaining curse and shame of our race, shall retire to the same cave, where "Pope & Pagan" have retired, to be remembered only with a mingled sentiment of disgust and wonder, like the war-feast of the savage; like the perpetual slavery of captives; like the pledge of revenge, in the scullbowl of Odin; like the murder of Helots in Greece, and of gladiators, in Rome; like the witch-burnings, the Smithfield-fires, and St Bartholomew-massacre, of modern times. At every new moral and intellectual height attained, man looks back on the darkness of the region below, with pity and astonishment, mingled with contempt. And future times shall look back upon the moral and intellectual state of man, at the present day, proud and boastful as we are, with the same sentiments and feelings, with which in manhood, we look back on the petulancy of infancy; and the weak and toyish wants and passions, which disturb the tranquility of our childish years.

If these anticipations have any color of hope, amid the antique customs and thronged population of Europe, how just and how bright are they, in this favoured country, where God and nature combine to invite man to lay the foundations of a new and happy era for our race! How does the moral, intellectual, and local condition of the United States combine to repress all the three causes, "which prepare and dispose states for war." First, by elevating and improving the condition of the people. Second, by restraining the ambition of rulers. Third, by rendering it easy, if we will, to expunge the entire class of "soldiers profess."

Never did a nation commence its existence, under auspices, so

favourable, as did the United States. Other nations advanced slowly from the savage state, or from a state, worse than savage, that of professed robbers and plunderers. On the contrary, the United States, educated as pure, as elevated, and as practical, as the wit of man had ever devised, became, as it were, a nation in a day; without any of those wild excesses and bloody convulsions, which attended the foundation of other nations. Our citizens were, in fact, republicans, when they were, as yet, colonists. On assuming independence, they did little else than transfer the attributes of the monarch to the people; and provide the organs, by which the will of the new sovereign should be expressed—Forms were changed. But their principles, their habits, their manners under went no alteration. It is impossible not to perceive how admirably adapted our state of society is, for the cultivation of simplicity, true to nature, to reason and virtue, in all our purposes, and in all our institutions.

The local relations of the United States are, in the most extraordinary manner, adapted to limit and decrease the influence of all the causes of war. Our rulers are responsible to the people at short periods. The extent of our territory is such, that ages must elaps, before our numbers can exceed the productive powers of our soil to support. Of consequence, extreme poverty, which Lord Bacon calls "the hard means to live," will scarce, for ages, be the condition of any important portion of our citizens.

Such are the answers to the questions, relative to the auspices, which attended the foundation of your society, and the hopes, which accompany its progress.—They are neither few, in number; nor doubtful in type. They are as certain as the capacity of man for moral improvement; and as positive as the developement of that capacity is unquestionable. Societies, like yours, are at once evidences of the fact, and instruments to ensure the fulfilment of the hope. They are the repositories of that moral and intellectual armory, which is destined to be the means under Providence, of breaking in pieces the sword, the spear and the battle axe, and every other implement of war, in like manner as the rays of light and of truth, concentrated by the magic mirror of Cervantes, melted into air and dissipated the dwarfs, the knights, the giants, the enchanters and battlements of ancient chivalry.

These means are as plain, as their tendency is noble. Whatever there is in the circumstances of the time, tending to make war less frequent, less probable, or more odious, on that seize; that analyze, display and enforce. Bring the principles, connected with those circumstances, home to men's business and bosoms; not by discoursing on the beauty of moral truth and on the bliss of a tranquil state, but by exhibiting those facts and relations existing among men, and between societies, which, if cherished and multiplied and strengthened, give rational grounds of belief that brighter and calmer days may be made to dawn and be perpetuated on our tempest-torn race.

The reasons of this belief, take with you into life. Carry them into the haunts of men, press them upon all, who guide and influ-

ence society. Make if possible, a recognition of them a condition of political power. Above all, satisfy the people of their true interests. Show your fellow-citizens of this, and the men of every country, that war is a game ever played for the aggrandizement of the few, and for the impoverishment of the many; that those who play it voluntarily, do it always for selfish, never for public purposes; that war establishments are every where scions of despotism; that when engrafted on republics, they always begin by determining the best sap to their own branch; and never fail to finish by withering every branch, except their own.

Set before your eyes the glorious nature of the object, at which you aim. Absolute failure is impossible, because your purposes concur with all the suggestions of reason; all the indications of nature; all the testimony of history; and all the promises of religion. They are pure; elevated; divine. Your end is the honor and happiness of your race. Your means are the advancement of the moral and intellectual character of man.

What though the image you assail, be great and the form thereof terrible; and its brightness dazzling? What tho' its head be of brass, and its arms and legs and body of iron? Its feet are but clay—The stone, which is cut out of the mountain without hands, shall dash it in pieces; and shall, itself, become a great mountain, and cover the whole earth.

Opposition to Reform.

"Peter was the first who forbade the Russians to prostrate themselves in his presence, as was the old custom—often carried so far, that people laid their full length in the *mud*, whenever they chanced to meet the Czar in the street. We may judge with what a stubborn race Peter had to deal, since even this humiliating custom was not abolished without serious opposition."—[Eustaphieve's Reflections, Notes &c. p. 50]

This is one of the many examples of folly in opposing every thing done to abolish old "customs." Doubtless many of the Russians imagined that it would tend to the subversion of the government, and the consequent ruin of the nation, if this "humiliating custom" should be abolished. They of course preferred occasional prostration "in the mud," to evils of greater magnitude.

Does the reader laugh at this instance of human folly? Let him suppress his mirth till he shall have inquired whether he is not as strongly attached to some other custom, equally degrading and far more pernicious.

Prostration of the body is a light thing, except when it denotes a prostration of mind; but a prostration of mind may exist while the body is erect. A man may indeed defile his clothes by "lying his full length in the mud;" this, however, is as nothing, when compared with a debasing surrender of the rights of conscience, and defiling the hands and the heart, to gratify the ambition or revenge of a ruler, in shedding human blood. Yet such prostration, or rather *prostitution* of both body and mind, is common even in countries that boast of their civilization. In the most needless war, a sovereign has only to speak the word, and thousands march to the work of murder, and of desolation, and with as much eagerness and as little reflection, as a pack of blood-hounds pur-

sue their game at the word of their master. This custom common in all countries, implies servility and barbarism far more degrading than a "full length" prostration "in the mud." But it is an "old custom;" hence it is deemed necessary, and it cannot "be abolished without serious opposition!" How happy for the world, and how honorable to Czars, Emperors, Kings and Presidents, if they would combine, to free their subjects from the degrading custom of *military prostration*, and raise them to the dignity and rights of men!!—[*Friend of Peace.*]

EXECUTION.

JUNE 1.—On Friday morning early, J. Bingley, W. Dutton, and W. Batkin, were executed in front of Warwick jail, for forging bank notes. On the night preceding their execution, the three wives and fifteen children of the unhappy men were allowed to visit them, and to remain with them a few hours prior to their dissolution. The scene was heart rending; the children were all under eight years of age; and, in order to prevent their knowing their fathers' unhappy condition, it was impressed on their minds that they were indisposed, and sure to die. The poor creatures, thus ignorant of their parents' fate, in the most artless manner said, "O father! you will soon be better;" and on witnessing the tears, requested their mother to send for a doctor. Mrs. Bingley fainted, and remained insensible upon the knees of her husband for more than an hour. At the appointed time for separating them from each other, they were obliged to be dragged from their husbands' arms by actual force, and the sight was truly distressing. On Friday morning they were bro't to the scaffold. Batkin, whose grief had overwhelmed him, begged that he might be allowed to give the signal to the executioner. A handkerchief was given to him for that purpose; but after they were all tied up, and the prayers were gone through, he continued praying, and declared that he could not die. On being requested by his fellow sufferers not to keep them in suspense—continuing to hold the handkerchief in his hand—Bingley, who was next to him, snatched it from his grasp, and exclaimed, "We have lived like men, and let us die so," and threw the handkerchief on the ground. The drop instantly fell, and in a few minutes their sufferings were ended.

T. Federalist.

FROM LETTERS TO CALEB STRONG.

Impolicy and ill effects of capital punishments.

SIR.—The havoc & destruction our race have, in all ages, made of each other, will be their eternal disgrace and humiliation. I have dwelt, and dwelt long, on those cases of taking away the life of our fellow-creatures, which are generally esteemed of the most pressing and imperious necessity. I humbly trust I have shown that there is no warrant for that practice from the word of God. The rendering like for like, hurt for hurt, evil for evil, and blood for blood, a practice perfectly consonant to the most corrupt and malicious heart, and most dear to the vilest and basest of men, was, in the ancient ages of darkness, admitted, and established,

by the Creator, rather as a punishment of human cruelty and atrocity. This God himself declares in the passage of the prophet above cited, "*I gave them statutes which were not good; and judgments by which they should not live.*" These sanguinary laws were adapted to a period of the world, in which men had little knowledge of God, and still less of futurity.

But when the Sun of righteousness arose, when life and immortality were fully brought to light in the Gospel, a new era opened on mankind. Our fault is, that we swell the importance of concerns, merely temporal, to an unmeasured size, and diminish those of eternity in the same proportion. The light which the Gospel opens on the mind, claims the right of holding an entire and absolute control over human affairs. How often do we hear it asserted from the sacred desk, that the salvation of one immortal soul, is an object of far greater importance, than all the temporal concerns of all the kingdoms in the world, during all the ages of time. Nor did I ever hear this assertion condemned as false or extravagant. It is a matter of mathematical certainty, that one soul shall enjoy a greater quantity, if I may so speak, of happiness, or endure a greater portion of misery, than the amount of happiness or misery yet experienced by the whole human race. Any certain degree of happiness or misery continued, and made absolutely eternal, will at length surpass, in quantity and importance, any given amount of happiness or misery. To show how this may be ascertained, let it be supposed that there have lived already one million of millions of human beings; which is probably ten times more than the real number. Let us suppose that they lived on an average 30 years a piece; which is far too large a calculation. The consequence will be, that one man who shall be happy or miserable 30 millions of millions of years, will have enjoyed or suffered more than all the human race have yet enjoyed or suffered.

Indeed, Sir, since I am on this speculation, and am sensible that I address a mind that is no stranger to the powers and correctness of calculation, suffer me to suppose, that the number of years which all Adam's race shall have existed, even at the day of judgment, admitting that to be at the distance of a thousand years, can be computed; and we can easily perceive, that one immortal soul shall overpass that period, and even double it a thousand and a thousand times, and still have an eternity before him.

How important, then, is the destiny of one soul; and how do all concerns which are merely temporal, diminish before it! Let not these speculations be waved under the charge of *metaphysical*. They lie in the great lines of truth, and present before us a glimpse of our prospects.

Every Christian believes, that when a wicked man dies he goes into a state of eternal misery. His probation closes; there is no more hope of his repentance, reformation, pardon, or redemption. Who, then, can wish for the death of a wicked man? - Who can rashly lay his hand on that brittle thread of life, which suspends a wretched soul over the dreadful gulph, and bid him drop? What temporal advantages the poor criminal may gain by living, or lost

by dying, is nothing. What temporal good a community may gain or lose by the event, are like poisoning a feather against mountains of lead. While the ulterior intention of Almighty God respecting a soul, are unknown to us, while we perceive no hope from its present state, and that the stroke of death will be his eternal separation from all good; where is our mercy, our compassion, our benevolence, when we bid that soul plunge into endless perdition?

But, alas! Man is the slave of passion, prejudice, and folly. Having begun to tamper with a jewel of such inestimable value as life, having no notion of the value or destinies of the immortal part, he dashes with careless hand a fellow-creature from life, and plunges him into hell; nay, he wantonly throws away his own life, and rushes into the presence of his eternal Judge, long before, in the course of nature, he would have been called. *

But I return from this digression, into which the ardour of my feelings has borne me, in pleading that souls, whose period of preparation for eternity is at most but short, may not be hurried from life by those who have no interest in their destruction, and no right to assume the rod of divine vengeance; lest they meet them again, never to part, in the regions of misery, where they can no more deal mutual destruction.

No arguments, Sir, can be necessary to prove the inutility of that which God has expressly forbidden. I might, therefore, content myself with having shown, that God has forbidden the retaliation of injuries in all cases, but especially in the case of taking *life for life*. Indeed, did not the blindness of Christians amount to infatuation, and was it not as wilful as it is total, they would perceive in the command of Christ, *to love our enemies*, a full and absolute prohibition to take their lives, which is the greatest possible injury we can do them. The very pretence, that we "love them that hate us," and "do good to them that despitefully use us," while at the same moment, we hang them up by the neck, till they are dead, dead, dead, or meet them in the field of battle, and cut them to pieces if we can, and plunder and burn their cities, and do them all the injury the malice of war can invent, is the most barefaced and impudent of all pretences. As for us, while we are dashing our enemies to pieces with cannon balls, we pretend to whine and simper about their salvation. It is mockery!!

Many persons, however seem willing enough to adopt the plan of mercy and peace: but then the difficulty is, how shall we be able to proceed in a civil State, without sometimes taking life? They appear, after all, to think civil government can no more proceed, without some human sacrifices, than Agamemnon's fleet could quit the shores of Troy.

In the progress of legislation, the distant extremes of severity and mildness, have been, at times, approached by different legislators. Draco, the severest of the Greeks, a celebrated Athenian legislator, flourished about 640 years before Christ. His laws were so sanguinary, that they were said to be written in blood. He punished every crime with death; a practice agreeable to the

stoic philosophy, which esteemed every crime equally culpable. The Roman laws of the twelve tables, in point of severity, were not far from the Mosaic code. The famous Catharine II, of Russia, abolished capital punishment throughout her dominions, during her reign; and notwithstanding her failings, in some essential points, the mildness of her administration, and the prosperity of her empire, comprehending a seventh part of the solid land of the globe, will never cease to be celebrated in history.

The English laws are justly censurable, for the number of the offences they make capital. They evince a cruelty of character, a prodigality of life, inconsistent with the politeness, refinement, integrity, and humanity of that nation. To deprive a man of life for a paltry theft, borders on the cruel extreme of Draco, and justifies the reproach sometimes cast on English jurisprudence, that in that country, "a man may as well steal the horse as his bridle."

It has been doubted whether capital punishments tend to diminish the number of crimes: and some, of consequence, have endeavoured to show, from actual observation and comparison, that among those nations, the most mild in their punishments, there are the fewest capital crimes. The smallness of the number of capital crimes, however, seems rather to depend on the smallness of the number of profligate and abandoned characters in a country.

These, Sir, are conjectures; but one thing is certain: *there is no necessity of capital punishment on any ground whatever.* The very few persons executed for crimes, amounts to no perceptible diminution of the profligate and abandoned. Considered in the light of mere depletion, it is like taking a drop of blood from a feverish body. If those persons, whose crimes are such as to render their liberty dangerous to society, were placed in perpetual confinement, and put into a regular and moderate course of labour, they might still render some benefit to society, and enjoy a season for reflection and reformation, which would often result in the happiest effects.

The present public penitentiaries, with little trouble, might embrace this benevolent object, and afford a time and place for many an unhappy wretch to become an amiable and virtuous man. Even though the event of reformation might not be generally esteemed probable; yet at least, in some instances, it would prove so. The policy, and shall I say humanity, of our own government, has already established various prisons, where men are confined for life: and it is greatly to the honour of this nation, that many crimes, once capital in this country, are now punished by confinement.

Why, Sir, may not this enlightened and benevolent, this humane and merciful policy, be carried a little further? It may be of infinite importance to some of our fellow-men, who are no more deserving of death, than, perhaps, some of the very court who sink the criminal to the grave. It will save the public presence from being polluted by the horrid spectacle of legalized slaughter. It will save our children from beholding the horrible scene

of one man laying his hand deliberately on another, and taking away his life: it will save an innocent family from the agonies and infamy, of seeing the blood of a father shed by the hand of the executioner.

The eloquent and amiable Tully, whose sentiments I have quoted on other occasions, uses on this very topic, language worthy of a Christian magistrate. "For what," says that noble heathen, "can be desired, which I would rather accomplish, than that I, in my consulate, should have taken away the executioner from the forum; the cross from the Campus Martius. But that praise is due to our ancestors," &c.

He says in the same connection, "I forbid the assembly of the Roman people, to be polluted by the contagion of an executioner." Not only the Hebrews, but many of the ancient nations, held that the touch of a dead body was polluting. By a peculiar delicacy and force of thought, that pollution is here transferred to the sight, and even to the sight of an executioner. The thought, Sir, is horrible, and shocking to the moral sense which the God of nature has given us, that one man should, under any circumstances whatever, destroy the life of another. Even the shedding of the blood of beasts is revolting, and, if I mistake not, the laws of England, though they make so free with human life, do not allow a butcher to hold the office of a civil judge. Yet it cannot be concealed, that in that highly enlightened and civilized country, as well as in our own, many a human butcher is exalted not only to the bench of justice, but to other offices of more importance.

EXTRACTS FROM AN ADDRESS,

Delivered by Charles Hammond, on militia fines.

To those who are not acquainted with the circumstances which led to this address, it may be observed, that a bill to amend the militia law was reported to the senate, early in the last session. Its objects were to commute muster fines for labor on the roads &c. to increase the number of musters, and to provide more effectually for the collection of fines.

After passing the senate, this bill was sent down to the house, and when in committee of the whole house, was so amended as to provide for exempting persons conscientiously scrupulous against war, from the performance of militia duty in time of peace. The amendment was proposed by C. Hammond, and was adopted by a large majority.

In the house there were 46 for the amendment, and 18 against it.

In the senate the vote stood in favor of the amendment, 14—against it 19.

Thus it is seen, that of 97 members, who voted upon the question, 46 representatives, and 14 senators, making 60, voted in favor of the exemption; and 18 representatives and 19 senators, making 37, voted against the exemption. The house afterwards receded from the amendment: and the clause providing a commutation was reinstated.

Previous to the election, C. Hammond published an address "to the people of Belmont, from which the following extracts are taken:

It is declared by the third article of the bill of rights attached to our constitution: "That all men have a natural and indefeasible right to worship Almighty God according to the dictates of conscience; and that no human authority can, in any case whatever, interfere with the rights of conscience." If there is a religious society among us, who conscientiously believe that it is sinful to bear arms, do we not directly interfere with the consciences of all such, if we require them, by law, to do that which the dictates of their consciences forbid, and subject them to a penalty for non-compliance? We have declared that "no human authority can, in any case whatever, interfere with the right of conscience." Yet are we so inconsistent as to set up our own consciences as a standard for others, and to insist that what we feel to be right, no man can conscientiously consider sinful!! This conduct strikes at the foundation of all toleration and religious liberty. It is yielding to the influence of the old leaven of ignorance and bigotry, that denounced, as heresy, every doctrine they did not themselves believe, and put to death as heretics, all who differed from them in opinion.

The society of Friends, and some others, believe conscientiously that our Saviour, both by his example and his precepts, bore testimony against every species of violence. They believe that it is the duty of his followers to bear the same testimony. This belief is, to them, a principle of conscience. Their sincerity has been evinced by a series of patient suffering, which never did belong either to obstinacy or hypocrisy. This belief, and their practice in consequence of it, is perfectly innocent, and is conformable to the life and to the precepts of Christ. It accords, also, with the state of things which we all suppose will exist at the consummation of the promised millenium. None can deny but that it is a true christian doctrine and practice. It is objected to, only, that it is inconsistent with the safety of government, and repugnant to the laws of society. I do not mean to discuss this question. I must, however, remark, that all existing governments and laws are rendered necessary by the violent and evil passions of men; are intended to operate upon the profligate; & would be unnecessary, wholly unnecessary, if men were all sincere disciples, and true and humble followers of their divine master. I must further remark, that from the day when the chief priests and pharisees held council on our Saviour, and said, "if we let him thus alone, all men will believe on him, and the Romans shall come and take away both our place & nation," a pretended apprehension of danger, to civil government has been made the pretext for Christian persecution, both by the heathen, and by one christian sect against another. I am sincerely of opinion, that every liberal man in our free and happy country ought to be ashamed of cherishing a spirit which has been more destructive of true piety, and of human life, than pestilence and famine, from the beginning of the world.

I am sensible, that to exempt one class of society from a duty required of another class, has an appearance of inequality. But this very partial evil weighs little against the injustice of interfering with the rights of conscience. The Seventh-day Baptist is permitted to labor on the Sabbath day, because his conscience binds him to keep the seventh day as a Sabbath. Would it be just to subject him to a fine for laboring on the first day of the week, and thus deprive him of one sixth part of the time allotted for labor, because the Presbyterian, the methodist, and the Episcopalian, cannot without a violation of conscience labor on the Sabbath-day? Should the Seventh day Baptist become the majority of any one state, and appoint musters to be holden on the Sabbath day, could the consciences of other religious societies recognize the obligation of this law; and comply with its provisions? What would be the feelings of a conscientious Presbyterian, if required by law to perform militia duty upon the Sabbath day?—Could fines, whips, or racks compel him to the performance? Yet the seventh day Baptist would feel a perfect freedom to do it, and might treat the scruples of others in respect to the day with as much indifference as is now manifested for the scruples of the conscientious Quaker.—No human authority can rightfully interfere with the consciences of men. Every attempt to do it, is an effort of persecution, and is produced by a spirit which good men should be sedulous to rebuke whether it arise in themselves or in others.

To those who have carefully examined the operation of our militia laws, the policy of exempting all persons conscientiously scrupulous from the performance of militia duty in time of peace, is as obvious as its justice. It is true, that for electioneering and other temporary purposes, an excitement may be raised against exempting men from mustering, on account of their religious sentiments. But there is a fixed and permanent principle of humanity and justice, in the hearts of a vast majority of the people. When the bustle subsides, the excitement is done away, and the still and calm periods of reflection succeed.—Then the kinder feelings predominate. In a rigorous collection of fines, the utmost possible humanity, compatible with executing the laws, must produce great calamity and distress. The office is so disagreeable, it is seldom undertaken by a man of generous feeling. In the hands of unfeeling obduracy, and to such hands it is of necessity too often consigned, it is an engine of monstrous oppression.

Few in the community are willing to see the vestments, bed cloths, and family utensils of the meek and poor, sold and sacrificed to satisfy a penalty exacted by law, for omitting to do that which the delinquent's conscience enjoins him to omit. Sympathy for the sufferer absorbs every other sentiment. The execution of the law becomes odious because of its hardships; and it ceases to be enforced, except very partially—which renders it more odious.

I say nothing against the patriotic intentions of those who conceive that a rigorous militia system can be executed, and will render the militia system respectable. But I say, that they are grievously mistaken. The consciences of men have never yet been

subdued by rigor, and they never can be subdued. The hand that framed us implanted something in our nature, for wise purposes no doubt, which renders it impossible for rigor to act effectually upon the mind. The laws of nature must therefore be reversed, before penal laws can direct the conscience or control the judgment. To attempt it, is to wage war with duty.

OHIO PENITENTIARY.

On the 23rd. ult. I paid a visit to the Penitentiary of this state. By the attention of the Director, Keeper and other officers of the institution, I was introduced into every part of the interior, and made acquainted with the condition of its tenants. It afforded me particular satisfaction to observe that the rooms, yards, shops &c. were kept *clean*, and the clothing, diet and general treatment of the prisoners appeared to be calculated to render them as comfortable, in that point of view, as would perhaps be consistent with the general design.

The articles manufactured too, are creditable to those who have had the management of the institution.

Thus far I can go in commendation and thus far I feel bound to go as an act of justice to the officers of the institution.

The following is a statement of the Convicts committed to the Ohio Penitentiary from the commencement of the Institution to the 23rd. of the 10th month 1821. at which time I was there.

In the year 1815	7
1816	29
1817	33
1818	35
1819	53
1820	61
1821 to 10th mo. 23	47
Total	265
Discharged and died	145

In confinement 120 the 23 of 10th mo. 1821

Three have been committed for second offences since the system went into operation, but none of these are in confinement at the present time.

Among the prisoners, are eight persons of color, one of whom is a woman, and the only female there.

The prisoners are all furnished with Bibles. A few on being committed were found to be unable to read. These were supplied with spelling Books, and a little school established for their instruction, in which considerable improvement was made.

I was told that none are remarkable for being refractory: and no attempt has ever been made to escape *by force*.

The manufacturing part of the business is involved in difficulties which must prevent it from being *profitable*.

Besides the inconvenience (common to all Penitentiaries) of the inexperience of the great majority of the prisoners in the branches of business carried on, and the consequent waste of time and materials, the penitentiary of this state is too remote from navigation. This increases the expense of the raw materials and the difficulty of bringing the manufactured articles into market. These articles are not easily disposed of, not only from the above cause, but from the general state of the country. Hence the nominal profits of the institution are not to be realized. Another difficulty which operates on the institution is a lack of good funds with which to obtain the raw materials. The consequence is, that the articles wanted cannot be obtained at a fair price. This has produced an advance in some instances as much as 33 1/3 percent.. It is not strange that with all these causes operating, it should be an expensive institution.

The expenses last year, including provisions, clothing, firewood, county officers, costs &c. Keepers &c. Inspectors' and Physicians' fees, materials, premiums to discharged prisoners, and incidental charges amounted to

Deduct for materials on hand

Leaves total expense

Value of articles manufactured during the same time

Balance against the Institution

27,520,38


5,718,75

\$21,801,6319,088,70\$2,712,93

which is about half the cost incurred in the respective counties, and would be a saving to the state of upwards of \$2000 a year, by the Penitentiary system, provided sales could be made. But at present this is not the case. On the 1st. of the 2nd. month last, the amount of manufactured articles on hand was 12300 dollars which may be considered as the accumulation of six years. Or on an average \$2050 per an. which the sales have fallen short of the nominal amount of manufactures. This would just about leave the institution on a footing, (in point of expense) with the old system of the whipping post and gallows.

These details are gone into, merely as matter of interesting speculation, but not as having any bearing on the principle of the institution. The object is not, or ought not to be, to make money, but to prevent crime, and promote the reformation of criminals. (To be continued.)

THE TERMS.

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